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faction of his colleagues on an international administrative body. No doubt great good would come from this constant contact between the minister of commerce of one country with corresponding officials of other countries.

It is apparent through much of the discussion that the author is writing with an eye to the possible application of his principles to such an organization as the League of Nations, and the principle of direct contact is in the final chapter definitely applied to the organization of the League. "If the League is to remain in contact with the realities of the life of the world, it must have its permanent roots in the administrations of the world."

The book is thoroughly worth reading, both as an authoritative contribution to the economic history of the war and for its lessons and suggestions in the field of international administration.

University of Michigan.

C. E. GRIFFIN.

MODERN CONSTITUTIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN CHINA. By Harold Monk Vinake. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1921. Pp. xi, 304.

The lack of an adequate treatment of the constitutional development of modern China has been long felt by the reading public. So far as the reviewer's knowledge goes, there were, before the appearance of the present work, only three books of its kind worth mentioning, viz., "A Survey of Constitutional Development in China," by Dr. Hawking L. Yen, of Columbia University; "China's New Constitution and International Problems," by M. T. Z. Tyau, of London University," and "Modern China," by Dr. S. G. Chen, of Oxford University. Professor Vinake's book is particularly welcome as filling a timely need and as being the work of an unbiased and learned scholar.

The book under review treats of modern constitutional development in China from 1898 to 1918. It is but a very short period in the life of a nation, especially in that of China, which proudly claims to be the oldest on the globe. China, however, during the period specified has been undergoing more vicissitudes than she has had in the last fifty centuries. To quote the author's words, "From an oriental despotism to a limited monarchy; from monarchy to republicanism, and back to monarchy for a day before the restoration of the republic; from a parliamentary republic to a division into two states * * * such have been the political mutations in China during the past twenty years." A general survey of the political situation in China is unquestionably much to be desired, and Professor Vinake has fittingly performed the task.

The book, as indicated by the title, is historical rather than critical in nature. Yet it is not lacking in fair and just criticisms or comments throughout. The author's residence in China certainly helps him a great deal in understanding the currents and cross-currents of the country's politics, so often lamentably confused or misunderstood in books not written by native scholars.

"The hundred days reform" in 1898 marked a decided break with the

past. But its significance is often over-estimated. Professor Vinake says that the very nature of the changes proposed in 1898 revealed a lack of appreciation on the part of the reformers of the fundamental nature of the weakness of the Chinese administrative system. He ascribes the desire for a change on the part of the emperor to the ambition to regain the power which he unfortunately lost to the Empress Dowager rather than to the strong conviction that there was a necessity for it. He says further that the failure was a happy one in the long run for China, in that "it gave an impetus to the work of those who felt that change could come and progress be made only with the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty" (cf. p. 40).

In speaking of the nature of the Great Revolution in 1911, he says (page 101): "The history of the Great Revolution in 1911 shows, however, that it was not the result of a carefully planned movement, but was rather a spontaneous and contagious uprising at isolated points, which was later partially unified and coördinated." It is due to this fact that a unification of China after the revolution has not been as easily effected as might be expected. But its quick and almost bloodless success, a great spectacle in world history, may be ascribed to the same fact. "All had a common determination that the Manchu must go, and this hatred of the reigning dynasty provided the bond of union which held the revolutionary leaders together so long as the common foe existed." As soon as the common foe disappeared from the field, differences and divisions manifested themselves as a matter of course.

Yuan Shih-Kai was made the provisional president in 1911 by a dual mandate, one from the former dynasty, another from the provisional Republican Government in Nanking. In the eyes of the people the Imperial mandate meant much more than the mandate issued by the Nanking government, for the simple reason that the Nanking Republican Government was such a new and novel creature that the people could not visualize it yet. The author analyzes Yuan's position by saying that "unquestionably Yuan was greatly strengthened in the eyes of his countrymen because of the powers bestowed upon him by edict, although the Imperial authority had ceased to exist." No student of the modern history of China can fail to note that this was a vantage ground of much importance upon which Yuan relied to wield his power against political enemies. "His election as president was a compromise, pure and simple, made necessary by his control of the north of the Yangtze. The easiest solution was to confer on him the dignity of the presidency and then, by constitutional provisions, to strip that office of all real weight in the government. In other words, the intention was to legislate Yuan out of his control of the situation" (page 124). Indeed, this was the shortest path to the solution of a chaotic situation. History tells us, however, that law is not always a good match for the sword, although undoubtedly the ultimate victory lies with the law. The struggle between the law and the sword is still going on in the Flowery Kingdom, but the reviewer is happy to say that the trend of recent events indicates that the rule of law

will soon begin its glorious reign over that great nation. The author expresses the same view (page 263).

Regarding Professor Goodnow's connection with Yuan's monarchical movement, the author is rather inclined to think that his memorandum setting forth the advantages of a limited monarchy in China and Yuan's ambition to mount the throne were but coincident phenomena. If this were really the case, then the coincidence was indeed an inopportune and unhappy one (see page 183).

The principal difficulty that presented itself in the making of a permanent constitution in 1916 was that regarding the status of the provinces. The holdings of the two opposite parties are clearly and admirably set forth in the tenth chapter of the book (page 225). This obstacle no longer exists, inasmuch as many of the provinces have made their own constitutions during the last two years and a line of demarcation between the central and provincial authorities can be clearly and easily drawn. Recent developments have unmistakably indicated that the constitutional tendency in China is toward federalism. When a legal parliament sits again in China a permanent constitution peculiarly suited to the situation in China will surely come into being.

In spite of many failures on the part of the republicans to make a permanent constitution, and of the chaotic conditions existing in China now, the author is by no means pessimistic with reference to the future. "What the future will bring forth," he says, "it is hard to say. The anti-Japanese feeling in China, if it develops far enough, may conceivably make possible a union of the provinces for the purpose of protection against external aggression" (page 263). Pressure from without upon China during the last decade is undeniably responsible for the situation in which she now is; it is, however, not without some good results, in that it helps to unify the Chinese people as a nation in the true sense of the word.

The author is very fair and just in saying that "aside from the purely internal factors responsible for the representative government in China, the outside world, and particularly Japan, must share the responsibility." Neither the author nor the reviewer is of opinion that "Japan should bear the blame for the failures of the Chinese to stabilize conditions in their country." But Japan's policy in loaning money and in acts of aggression in China has made it more difficult for the Chinese to set their house in order (pages 272-3).

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